**Stuck in the House** *Les L. Gapay*

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## Inside Nixon

*As He Was —John Osborne*

*Who Briefs Him? —TRB*

### ISSUES IN EDUCATION

**Kentucky Fried Children** —*Joseph Featherstone*

**Students Aren't Crazies** —*M. A. Tessler & R. D. Hedlund*

**Integration's Last Hurrah** —*William Grant*

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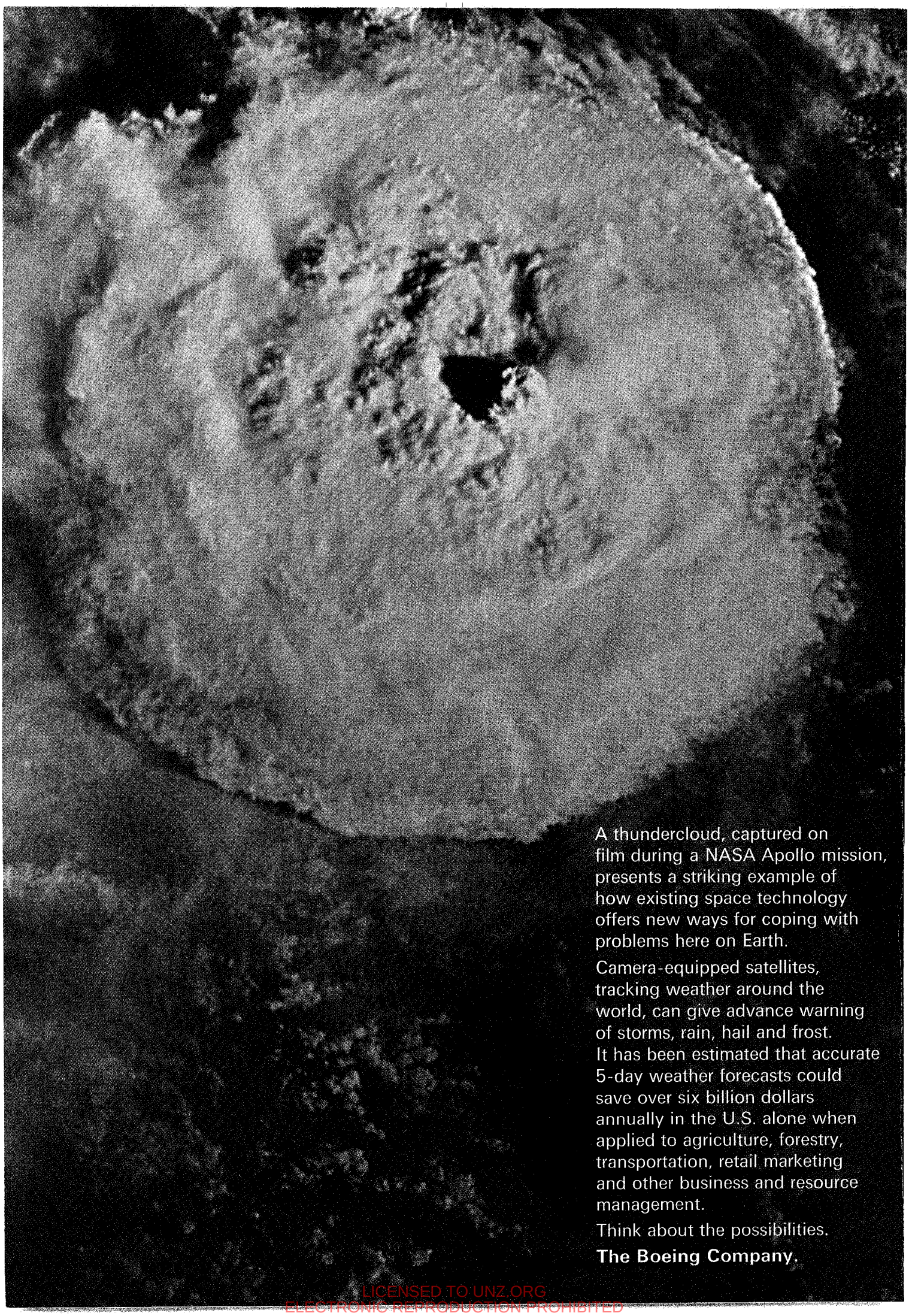

A thundercloud, captured on film during a NASA Apollo mission, presents a striking example of how existing space technology offers new ways for coping with problems here on Earth.

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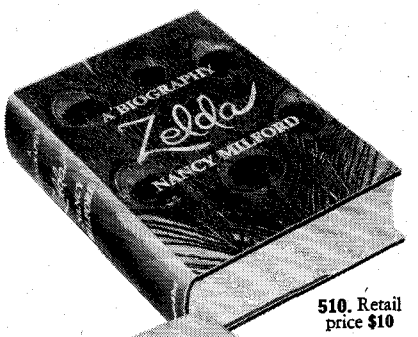


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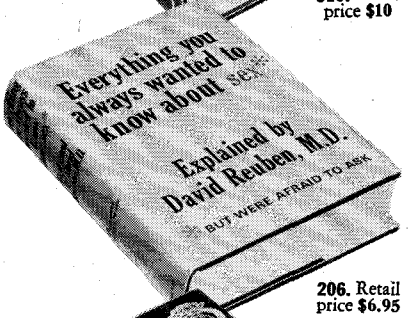


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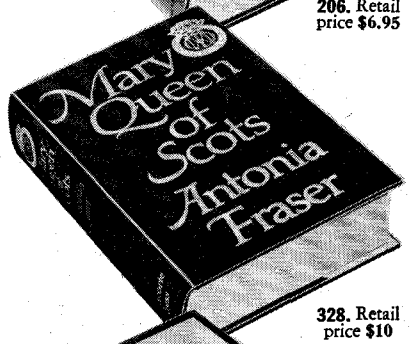


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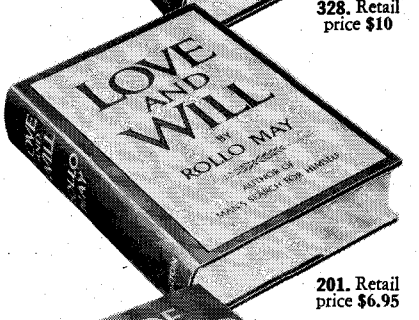


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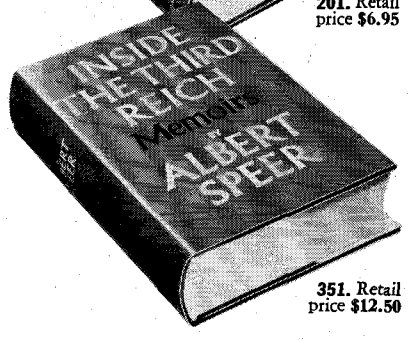


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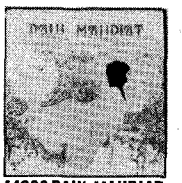

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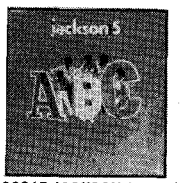


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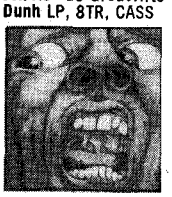

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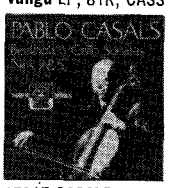


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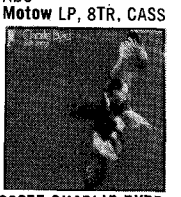

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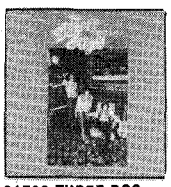

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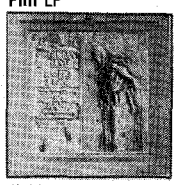

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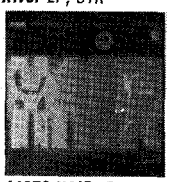

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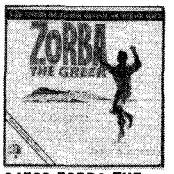


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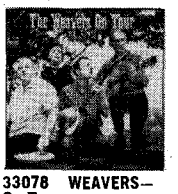

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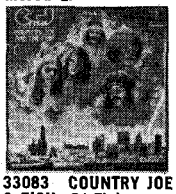

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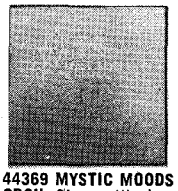

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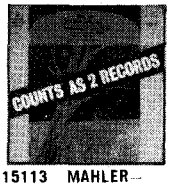


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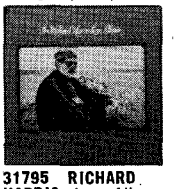

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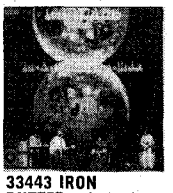

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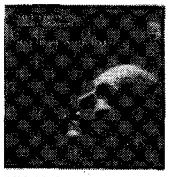

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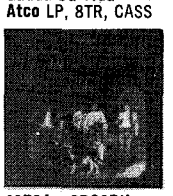

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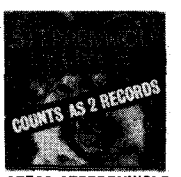


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# TRB®

from Washington

## Who's Top Briefer?

Who is Richard Nixon? We keep wondering; we can't help it.

Robert Semple writes in the *New York Times* that there are still basic questions about Mr. Nixon. Will his old anti-Communist instincts win out? Or the political acumen that tells him the American people are soul-weary of Vietnam?

We thought about that recently as we read through some of the non-attribution briefings the White House has been giving for newspaper editors. When the crunch comes in Cambodia – or somewhere else – how will Mr. Nixon react? If Phnom Penh is encircled, what happens to the Nixon doctrine of disengagement?

The White House has a super briefing officer for foreign affairs who has been plugging the new policy. Under the rules, he can't be identified. But New Orleans newspapers let slip the other day that Henry Kissinger was in town to talk to Southern editors on a background basis. Press secretary Ron Ziegler gets into the spirit of things and refers to his favorite briefer – "the one with the German accent."

Super-Briefer has conducted three of these sessions, with more to come. Mr. Nixon is going over the heads of the regular White House reporters. He holds few press conferences with the regulars; instead he invites their bosses. Then Super-Briefer gives the editors a look at the new trimmed-down, economy-size foreign policy.

What is it? The US is going out of the business of providing security for the entire (non-Communist) world, that's what.

We can't sustain such a burden anymore, says Super-Briefer, it's too much for our psychological resources. Indochina, thousands of miles away, has torn apart the US's domestic fabric. He adds that it's probably too much for our physical resources, too. That presumably refers to those gloomy reports that this year's federal budget may show a $10 billion deficit.

So the Nixon doctrine, enunciated on Guam in July 1969 to apply to Asia, is being extended to the rest of the world. America, the editors are told, is going low-profile. Not all at once; there will be sidestepping and ambiguity, but the general trend will be toward disengagement.

The US will honor treaty obligations with specific nations. It will defend a non-nuclear attacked by a nuclear. But a nation that meets neither test – Cambodia, for instance, and there are lots of others – will have to defend itself. US weapons and supplies, maybe, but no American troops.

This, says Super-Briefer, is the only kind of foreign policy the US can realistically sustain. Mr. Nixon won't buy the old argument that other nations' security is more important to us than it is to them. According to Super-Briefer, that was enervating; they merely shifted the difficult – and costly – decisions to the US.

Follow the new reasoning to its logical conclusion: A lot of tin-pot dictators could be heaved off the gravy train. But don't hold your breath waiting for it to happen.

We don't want to be dog-in-the-manger about this. It deserves to succeed. It's rational. It offers hope. It's the very model of a modern foreign policy. All Mr. Nixon has to do is make it stick.

Instead, we invade Cambodia. Then we come out, then we go back in again. With "interdiction" bombing, military attachés, Green Beret colonels, spooks. The old dreary, devious business – involvement by sleight-of-hand.

The Cambodian "incursion," we're told, established our power credibility with the Russians, perhaps helped get a Middle East ceasefire. What about the credibility of the disengagement policy? We disengage when we feel like it, and we didn't feel like it that time.

The old anti-Communist Nixon nags at us, fretfully, in the watches of the night. Maybe he always will.

Super-Briefer asks for time. You'll see how it works – 260,000 US troops out of Vietnam by next spring, 20,000 out of South Korea for a start. He says Mr. Nixon has to have the confidence of the American people so he can operate with a modicum of ambiguity. He has to reassure the nervous Asians – and later the Europeans – that their military umbilicus to the US is not being cut. Meanwhile, he wields the scissors.

That's how we're supposed to take Agnew's promise that the US will give all possible aid to Lon Nol in Cambodia. A modicum of ambiguity. The day after the Agnew interview, Super-Briefer told editors that the US would decide what aid was possible – and it wouldn't include troops. It did once. Who speaks for the real Nixon?

The President has pulled 115,000 men out of Vietnam. That's credible. It helps with those night-sweats. But the disengagement policy would be more believable if he and Agnew didn't shout so loud at those who want to disengage.

There's not much real difference between the Nixon doctrine and the amendments offered by antiwar senators. Their basic objective is to cut back US military involvement abroad. But Fulbright, Hatfield, McGovern and the others are labeled neo-isolationists, accused of offering "a blueprint for defeat."

Neo-isolationists, indeed. What about Super-Briefer?

Meanwhile back in Saigon, it's going to be interesting to see if the new Buddhist leader is tossed in jail for winning an election, as other doves there have been. Professor Vu Van Mau is a former law school dean and former foreign minister. In the Vietnam Senate elections his slate got more votes than the Thieu government's slate got. "Now the government knows the people's urgent desire for peace," said winner Mau. "Perhaps we can persuade it to be more innovative and open in its approach to serious negotiations."

Perhaps. And the election returns surely demonstrate that President Thieu's policies aren't exactly popular. On the other hand, Mau says it's a civil war they're fighting, and talks about a cease-fire, and "peace and social reforms, now." These are dangerous heresies out there. Yes, it will be interesting to see what happens to Mau – or to Thieu.

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**THE NEW REPUBLIC** *A Journal of Politics and the Arts, Vol. 163, No. 10-11, Issue 2906-7, Sept. 5 & 12, 1970. Published weekly (48 issues a year) and distributed by* The New Republic, 1244 19th St., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20036. Phone FEderal 8-2494. *Single copy 50c. Yearly subscription $12; Foreign $13; Armed Forces personnel or students, $6; Send all remittances and correspondence about subscriptions, undelivered copies, and changes of address to Subscription Department,* The New Republic, *381 West Center Street, Marion, Ohio 43302.* *Copyright© 1970 by Harrison-Blaine of New Jersey, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in Readers' Guide.*

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# Showing Up Agnew

The McGovern-Hatfield proposal to get all American troops out of Vietnam in 1971 or 1972 was defeated in the Senate 55-39 but was still useful because it highlights the Administration's inconsistencies about the war. The most glaring inconsistency is of course the difference between what Vice President Agnew is saying and what other Administration spokesmen are telling people. Agnew brazenly called the McGovern-Hatfield plan "a blueprint for the first defeat in the history of the United States." Does he think Mr. Nixon would be President now if he had told voters in 1968 that US troops would be fighting in Vietnam beyond 1972? Rational spokesmen for the Administration have preferred to argue, not that McGovern-Hatfield represented a cop out, but only that it might hurt the chance they profess to see of an American withdrawal from Vietnam before the end of next year. A clear implication is that if this chance doesn't come off, still the President and his closest adviser in the White House have settled in their minds on a withdrawal date. By then, the Administration hopes that South Vietnam will be standing on its own legs; meanwhile the Administration cherishes the extra hope that Hanoi may become willing to discuss terms that will make possible an earlier US withdrawal. But if Congress fixed and published a withdrawal date now, Hanoi might just wait for it.

All this makes nonsense of Agnew. For most of the Senators who with varying degrees of reluctance voted down McGovern-Hatfield were certainly not swayed by the Vice President's crudities. They were moved by the Administration's hints and pleas that it is as keen as they are to get the country out of Vietnam, and thinks it may do so faster than McGovern and Hatfield proposed. Should it turn out that the Administration's case is a fake and that it has no plan to withdraw, President Nixon will pay a Johnsonian price in 1972 or before. The President's best bet for avoiding such a fate would have been for him to snuff Agnew and to let it be known that he was willing to endorse the McGovern-Hatfield scheme and other similar proposals, such as Senator Muskie's. (Muskie voted for McGovern-Hatfield and his own plan differs from it only in form.) Having missed that chance, Mr. Nixon should logically pressure the Thieu government into real negotiation in accordance with what is obviously the wish of the majority of Vietnamese, which might also get us out quickly; or he should announce his own firm, irreversible withdrawal date. Either course shows up Agnew; but siding with Agnew dooms the Nixon Presidency.

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# Cracking the Suburbs

Suggestions are piling up on White House desks (not the President's of course, he keeps his neat) that the Administration withhold its purse in an effort to get communities to open up to low-cost housing. Last January, an urban renewal panel headed by Washington economist Miles L. Colean recommended that federal aid "of all sorts" be withheld from towns that resist low-cost housing. Colean said the plan was vital to "break the suburban barrier around the central cities." In February, the US Commission on Civil Rights recommended that the Administration prohibit federal agencies from moving into communities unless they provided adequate housing for low-income or minority groups. HUD Secretary George Romney proposed a federal law barring local governments from using zoning and building codes to keep out low income projects.

It took the Nixon White House six months to release the Colean report, and then without comment. The civil rights commission asked the President to issue an executive order barring agencies from moving into places without low-cost housing; no such order has been issued. Romney's proposal got no backing. Which shows that the Administration refuses in any way to buck the growing tendency by suburbs and

*"Well, I'll be darned! It was already unlocked."*

even big cities to fight housing projects that might help low-income families (meaning blacks, for the most part) to settle outside the ghetto. The legal weapons employed by communities are either old or newly enacted zoning and building codes – exclusionary practices such as minimum building size, minimum lot size, minimum bedrooms, lot-width controls.

Over at the Justice Department, which has the responsibility to enforce the 1968 Fair Housing Law, the word is that "when it comes to open housing, the brakes are off" – implying that when it comes to other civil rights matters the brakes are on. But there are only 13 civil division lawyers assigned to fair housing complaints, and they are under budget orders not to travel too much. The total annual Justice budget to enforce fair housing is less than the cost of one F-111 airplane (about $5.2 million) or the money expended each year by the Army to procure headstones for its dead ($4.8 million). In fact, the Nixon budget to enforce *all* civil rights laws is less than one day's military spending in Southeast Asia.

Meantime, the fight against unfair housing practices is being fought with increasing effectiveness by private civil rights groups, particularly the NAACP and the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing. A few states, notably, New York, Pennsylvania and Massachusetts, are cracking down on the use of local zoning and building code subterfuges. In June, the Supreme Court agreed to decide on the constitutionality of a California referendum law that permits a majority of voters in an area to block low-cost housing projects. Minnesota, Nebraska, South Dakota, Texas, Vermont and Virginia have similar laws.

Low-cost housing involves jobs, which by the thousands are leaving the urban centers and going to suburbia. For more and more blacks, and whites, it is a long, long bus ride from home to factory or office; not only long, but expensive. In the last decade, jobs in St. Louis declined 9 percent, but jobs in the St. Louis suburbs rose 144 percent. Jobs in Baltimore rose 6 percent, but in Baltimore suburbs increased 161 percent. Jobs in New York City rose 10 percent, but in the suburbs, 50 percent. In Washington, D. C., 38 percent, but in the suburbs 352 percent – showing that government continues to get bigger, particularly in the affluent (and largely white) suburbs around the Capital.

Home owners in the better sections of cities and those in the suburbs view fair housing laws as a threat. With an election coming up in two months, there's no chance the Administration will allot more manpower or rhetoric to the 1968 Fair Housing Law or the recent fair housing recommendations. In theory if everyone lived where their pocketbooks let them, and if enough public housing units were put up in suburbia or even better parts of cities, school integration would come that much sooner and easier. There are occasional hints that the Administration has a stronger fair hous-

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ing position on its mind. For example, "Ghetto residents are denied the income gains and improvements in housing quality that would result from freer access to suburban land and jobs." Bless his heart and his wristwatch, the Vice President said that.

**Robert W. Dietsch**

## The Nixon Watch

# As He Was

*San Clemente*

Twice on August 29, at midday and in late afternoon, I put aside Jules Witcover's *The Resurrection of Richard Nixon* (Putnam, $7.95) and went to see what the resurrected Nixon was letting his staff say about his doings on the second Saturday of his third stay in three months at the Western White House. There were no briefings by the President's press secretary over the weekend and the only information was in notices posted in our temporary press room, in a hotel twelve miles up the California coast from the Nixon compound. The day's two notices confirmed my hunch that I would learn more about Mr. Nixon from Witcover's account of him as he was during the six years before he acquired the protective mantle of the Presidency than I would from anything that he and his assistants volunteered about him now. We were told at noon: "The President spent the morning at his residence. He spent an hour and a half working in his study. There is no schedule to announce for the remainder of the day." And at 4:30 p.m.: "The President worked in the office for three hours. Later he relaxed around the residence with Mr. Rebozo and Mr. Abplanalp and spent some time on the beach."

Any complaint that these sparse bulletins were wholly worthless would be churlish and in error. It was to be expected, and therefore interesting, that Mr. Nixon had once again summoned across the continent his particular chums, Charles G. "Bebe" Rebozo and Robert Abplanalp, both of whom are rich and discreet and, the record of many years indicates, utterly subservient to and undemanding of their eminent friend. The references to the President at work, at the sea-side home he bought last year and at his office on the Coast Guard grounds adjoining it, reflected his and his staff's anxiety, apparent all week, that the public not suppose for a moment that Mr. Nixon would be so indifferent to his duties as to devote a single day entirely to rest after a run of arduous days. This in itself was an intriguing departure from the pattern of the President's first stays last year at his California home and offices. Then he frequently golfed and lounged around his pool. His senior assistants made a point of telling how their announced staff sessions with him often consisted of leisurely conversational walks along the closed and guarded beach in front of his home. Then the official supposition was that it was good for Mr. Nixon to be depicted and known as a man who, for all of his tense earnestness, is capable of taking his ease. This year the opposite assumption seemed to prevail.

The same defensive quality, an aspect of the earlier Nixon that pervades the Witcover portrait of him in the resurrection years, marked his and his staff's handling of the public-relations problem presented by the enormous logistical task involved in conducting the Presidency in California. He and his spokesmen compounded the problem for themselves. Instead of assuming that most people would concede that what is good for a President is good for the country, within reason, the Nixon spokesmen labored mightily to create an impression that hauling coveys of ranking assistants and advisers, the entire domestic Cabinet and supporting staffs from Washington to California and back in government jets requires no great effort or expenditure. Of course it does, a fact that was magnified rather than minimized with the typical explanation that the economic advisers flown out for one of the Nixon meetings were merely three among 35 persons travelling in the same airplane to serve the western Presidency in unidentified ways.

It was a rewarding pleasure to turn, at this time in this place, from the screened Nixon of today to the Nixon recalled and revealed by Jules Witcover, who is rated by his colleagues among the best of Washington's political reporters. His story begins on the November morning in 1962 when Nixon knew that California voters had denied him his home state's governorship in a defeat that was far more humiliating than his narrow defeat for the Presidency in 1960 had been. Witcover has Nixon saying "Screw them . . . Screw them" again and again to Herbert Klein, now his Director of Communications, when Klein begs him to appear in person before the reporters clamoring in a Los Angeles hotel for a concession statement. Then he does appear, looking his worst on television, "the small dark eyes, tight mouth, rubbery nose, and self-conscious demeanor" presenting him "in his least photogenic, most self-damaging aspect." There follows the famous tirade that Nixon and everyone else then thought to be the end of his political career—thanking the press, damning the press; thanking his campaign workers for "a magnificent job" and damning them for an insufficient one; and saying in an excess of bitterness, "You won't have Nixon to kick around any more because, gentlemen, this is my last press conference . . ." To this familiar event, ever worth recall, Witcover adds two interesting points. Whatever

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drove Nixon to that performance, it was not the shock of an unexpected defeat. He expected it and coolly assured associates that he did before the votes were counted. Nixon later persuaded himself that his outburst accounted for the kindlier treatment the press gave him in subsequent years. He told Witcover in 1966 that the California experience and the culminating press conference "served a purpose. The press had a guilt complex about their inaccuracy. Since then, they have been generally accurate, and far more respectful."

Nixon said this during an airborne interview that Witcover judged afterward to be "either pure revelation or one of the great put-ons of the year." Nixon really wanted to be a student, a teacher, a writer: "I'd like to write two or three books a year, go to one of the fine schools – Oxford, for instance - just teach, read and write. I'd like to do that better than what I'm doing now. I don't mean writing is easy for me, but writing phrases that move people, that to me is something." Witcover perceived that Nixon was doing what he was for a reason that fundamentally accounted for his rise from the depths of 1962 – his dedication to "the political life." Chance, calculation, ruthless skill, the rush of unpredictable events such as the Kennedy assassinations, the Vietnam war, the disastrous Goldwater candidacy in 1964 and Lyndon Johnson's withdrawal in 1968, had their parts in opening the way to the Presidency. But Nixon would not have been there to take the opened way if the political life did not attract him as it did and does. His law practice and the modest wealth it provided were valued incidentals. He once told an associate, who told Witcover, that he would be mentally dead in two years and physically dead in four if all he had to do was practice law.

No honest reporter can be wholly kind to Richard Nixon, and Witcover is not. Travelling on a 1966 campaign trip with Nixon, "At times it suddenly struck me that the man never seemed, even in a crowded room, to be really *with* anybody – and that he preferred it that way." Nixon's penchant for trying "to milk every possible political advantage from a situation, and yet to back off when its implications were laid out before him, made him very transparent at times. He seemed to realize that some observers were aware of this tactic, and to be embarrassed by that fact." Hence the beseeching smiles, the flickers of visible pain, the awkward attempts at recovery when he senses that he has repelled people whom he essentially doesn't give a damn about.

Yet this is a fair book, crediting Nixon with more than some may think he deserves for his sense of organization, his endurance, his appeal to the many people who do not share the usual reporter's tendency to look for flaws and enjoy dwelling upon them. This being so, the reaction to the book at the Nixon White House when Witcover was researching it last year and since it appeared is revealing. It is said for Nixon that he hasn't read it and doesn't intend to. Witcover got the official freeze when he told the press staff that he was going to write the book, and there still is a discernible chill when it is mentioned in that quarter. Nixon associates who confess that they have read it have been pleasantly surprised when they find that it isn't a hatchet job. Jules Witcover is not a hatchetteer, but that matters little to the Nixon people. They prefer safely and soundly committed writers – committed that is, to Richard Nixon. One of the crosses that Mr. Nixon and his staff apologists have to bear is that there are so few reporters and writers around with the preferred qualifications.

**John Osborne**

# Stuck Reform

"This place," said freshman Congressman Allard K. Lowenstein of New York about the House of Representatives, "is an almost superhuman blending of inefficiency." The House is so badly in need of reform it is having difficulty surmounting its antiquated procedures in order to reform itself. Under the eyes of tourists in Bermuda shorts cooling off in the galleries, it spent part of the summer considering how to modernize congressional rules and procedures. It will resume the task September 15.

Day after day, chuckles came from the crowd as Daniel J. Flood (D, Penn) a former Shakespearean actor, strolled down the floor giving his villain's moustache a twink, dressed in white coat and pants, with a black shirt, yellow vest, sunglasses and white buckskin shoes. William H. Natcher of Kentucky, highwayman of the District of Columbia, who wants to cover all of Washington with pavement, was in the chair as the House met as one huge committee to consider reform. Speaker John McCormack, who retires at the end of this session, slouched in a seat on the floor. He will be the last Speaker of the House who did not attend high school. Hand on chin, feet on the back of a chair, he looked relaxed. The white-haired, 78-year-old McCormack in his baggy dark suit with black tie, looked like a conductor enjoying the last ride on a train soon to be discontinued. Page boys, in immaculate white shirts and looking as though they were attending their first communion, huddled in a corner speculating about a provision in the bill which would require future page boys to be of college age, so Congress can close down the pages' high school.

The Legislative Organization Act of 1970 would be

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the first major overhaul of congressional procedures since 1946. It contains such innovations as allowing House hearings to be televised, ending secret voting and bringing Congress into the 20th century by giving it computers. There is opposition among senior members to some of the provisions, and to many of the amendments that House reformists are trying to add. There is even opposition to the page boy provision. "You can't snap your fingers as easily at a college student," said an aide to one congressman.

The proposal that would have required committee chairmen to take a daily vote of their committee members in order to close a meeting or hearing was soundly defeated. Thirty to 40 percent of the House committees meetings, where the decisions are made and the bucks are spent, are closed. The secrecy is so strict a member of Congress who is not a member of the Appropriations Committee, for example, cannot listen in to a closed hearing without permission of the chairman. "Only the lobbyists have access to members" at the closed meetings, charged Rep. William D. Hathaway (D, Maine).

Amendments to alter the seniority system of advancement in Congress were handily defeated. Richard Bolling (D, Mo.), who has written two books critical of the House and who helped write the reorganization bill, seemed to feel he had to defend his opposition to too many changes in the measure. "I don't believe I need to submit any credentials for being an early advocate of change in the House," he said several times. Bolling voted with the committee chairmen and McCormack, Whip Hale Boggs (D, La.) and Majority Leader Carl Albert (D, Okla.) against amendments concerning the seniority system. Bolling dreams of becoming Speaker or of succeeding to the majority leadership next January when McCormack leaves. "Those Southerners don't know how close I am to becoming Speaker," Bolling told some reporters after a closed-door Democratic Caucus meeting on seniority last spring, when one Southern Representative threatened to slug him during the heat of the debate.

One by one, House reformists got up to tell B. F. Sisk (D, Calif.), H. Alan Smith (R, Calif.) and Bolling what a good bill their Rules subcommittee produced, and then introduced amendments to change it. They know it is a lousy bill. Before the fighting ends in late September or early October, some 100 amendments may be considered. So far, 13 amendments have been added to the bill, including eliminating secret voting on the floor and in committees, and 15 others have been defeated. The House will consider more of them when it takes up the measure again.

Thomas M. Rees (D, Calif.) charged the Democratic leadership with deliberate stalling. The stall included early adjournment of the House on two occasions to allow Republicans to have their pictures taken with President Nixon; rare scheduling of Friday sessions (many Representatives take long weekends from Thursday night to Tuesday morning, a practice which results in their being called members of the Tuesday-Thursday Club); the annual House gymnasium party; considering ahead of reform such minor bills as a marketing agreement on papayas, a testimonial dinner for one member and Grocers' Family Day at the Congressional Country Club.

The bill could get lost in the pre-adjournment shuffle in the Senate, which also has to act on it. Some Senators are miffed because they passed a similar reform bill in 1967, following 17 days of debate, 31 rollcalls and adoption of 40 amendments, only for the House Rules Committee to refuse to consider it. In 1969, to keep down some of the young House reformists, McCormack told Rules Committee chairman William M. Colmer (D, Miss.) he better produce a bill. A problem for the Senate is a provision in the House bill that requires a two-thirds vote of the House for acceptance of nongermane amendments added by the Senate to House-passed bills. Such amendments in the past have included major legislation like the fair housing law and the 18-year-old vote, both of which were tagged to other bills by the Senate. Amendments will be offered in the House to cut the nongermane provision of the bill. "If that stays in the bill, the Senate is sure to deep six it," said Richard Conlon, staff director of the Democratic Study Group, the organization of House liberals which has been responsible for much of the strategy to beef up the reorganization bill.

As insurance in case the measure is not passed in final form by the House or gets bogged down in the Senate, Rees has introduced a resolution to change House rules in accordance with provisions in the reform bill and the adopted amendments. That resolution would make it possible for the House to implement its own reforms without concurrence of the Senate. And if the House reform bill gets stuck in the House, the resolution could be brought to the floor for immediate consideration via a petition to discharge it from the Rules Committee.

"You know the leadership doesn't like this bill," Rees remarked. "And you know damn well the committee chairmen are opposed to it."

If the House had not taken a vacation in the middle of debate, the bill's chances of becoming law this year probably would have been 100 percent greater. The recess was called by the Democratic leadership after a demand by many members, including the most ardent reformists. Rees was one. He explained: "You've got to get away from this place after a while. You can only take it for so long."

**Les L. Gapay**

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EDUCATION

## The Day Care Problem

# Kentucky Fried Children

**by Joseph Featherstone**

In 1940, one mother in 10 worked; the new 1970 census figures are expected to show that almost 5 in 10 are working. Clearly an enormous social change is occurring, and every sign points to a permanent trend. Precise figures are impossible to obtain, but it looks as though there are something like 5 million children under six years old with working mothers. How these children are taken care of is an immense, frightening question. The highest estimate for the number of day care places available is 640,000, and there are reasons for thinking that figure too generous. For one thing the overwhelming number of day care establishments won't take children under 3; yet there are probably more than 1,600,000 children under 3 in need of care.

Depending on which experts you listen to, there are then, services in some form for between 3 and 15 percent of the children needing them. The parents of the rest must make other arrangements. Some children stay home all alone. Some are with a relative, often an older brother or sister. Some are in what is called family care, lodged for the day in the house or the apartment of a neighbor, who takes in several youngsters and charges a fee. If everyone is lucky, this means safe care by somebody who really enjoys children. A general notion of what family care is like is hard to get. For every horror story, there are tales of good, kindly neighbors who go to great lengths for the children in their care. The few surveys that have been attempted do not suggest an encouraging picture, at least in our cities. Some years ago, the Medical and Health Research Association of New York city did a study of unlicensed homes, dealing with 25,000 of the city's children, half of them under 6. The study found babies left completely unattended all day, and caretakers who were drunks. A general hazard the report uncovered was that many people undertake to do family care because they are sick in one way or another, and can't hold down other jobs. Even under good circumstances, the report showed, the day's schedule for the children is apt to be breakfast, TV, lunch, a nap, and then more TV. At a quarter of the homes surveyed, children were never once taken out to play; a third lacked any sort of materials or toys to play with, and four out of five were rated as inadequate, either because they violated the (perhaps excessively finicky) New York Health Code, or, more seriously, because in one way or another the children were neglected.

That is probably roughly the way most city children

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fare in family care, which Rep. Shirley Chisholm calls "custodial parking lots." What about licensed day care? Recently I visited a number of ordinary day care facilities in Washington DC. What I saw was no statistical sample; it was selected for me as typical of for-profit centers by Virginia Williams, the DC official responsible for inspecting day care places.

The first place we visited was a new church building with a vast basement room and plenty of space for all kinds of activities with children. In a corner of this huge room, with all the curtains pulled, 40 to 50 2½, 3, 4, and 5-year-olds huddled in even rows of chairs in the darkness, watching television. That was how they were going to pass the sunny summer day, even though outside the church there was a perfectly good fenced area for play, and across the street was one of the excellent DC public playgrounds. The basement room had some climbing apparatus and construction equipment, but it was all stored away in a corner, and it seemed likely that nobody had ever used it.

The next center was an apartment in a complex. When we arrived, all the children were swarming out in the parking lot in front of the building. There was no place else for them to play. The rather small apartment housing the center had flooded, and the man hadn't come to fix the floors. There was no aide, no toys or equipment or, indeed, anything else in the empty place. Asked about lunch, the woman in charge said she thought maybe today she would take the children down to the People's drugstore for a hot dog. A suspicion crossed my mind that some days lunch just might not be served. I don't know this, of course; it was on my mind, because I'd just been talking to someone who had visited a center in the city where lunch consisted of a little tinned fruit and two ounces of milk. As we left, one of the little girls had skinned her knee in the parking lot, and she was crying.

Another apartment-center made more of an effort. Two energetic women presided, and although there were only a handful of kids – summer in Washington, a lot of children go back to visit relatives in the South, which is probably a pretty good kind of day care – the center was pleasant. Some thought had been given to providing materials and workspace. There was a little handkerchief-sized plot for the children to play in.

At another center, the director was ambitious: she was remodelling the whole house as a day nursery school. There was a playground in back, a good cook, and a pleasant staff. The director was desperate for somebody with experience working with young children to help her untrained aides develop some kind of a program.

Another church basement was an excellent site: big airy Sunday school classrooms, outfitted with all sorts of materials by a director who had run programs for children before. Staffing, again, was a problem: the aides were working with kids pretty much in the fashion of formal elementary school teachers, big groups, everybody quiet, seated for long periods at a stretch. In the play kitchen, the toys were neatly locked away in the cabinets.

All this is not exactly what I expected. There is nothing, at least in what I saw, to compare with what often gets reported about both licensed and unlicensed centers in many cities: children made to memorize hymns and complicated verses, solely to impress parents, or children beaten, abused, or tied up for the day. With one exception, the people in charge of these places look well-intentioned, and two centers have the potential to do some worthwhile things with their kids. I wasn't too surprised at the general absence of toys, books to look at, or materials, or that there is too little space, and that what space there is never gets used. What really astonished me was that reasonably pleasant adults are so totally incapable of thinking of things for themselves and the children to do, even just to pass away an 8 to 11 hour day. Scarcely any adult I saw even talked to a child. The children are universally bored to stupefaction. At 2, 3, 4, and 5, – all incredibly active years – they have the inert look of children in the later years of elementary school. Even when they aren't made to sit still, they remain for the most part oddly inactive and passive.

Virginia Williams inspects these places in order for them to keep their licenses, but she says she has no really effective authority to enforce standards. (This is true in many cities.) The machinery for closing down a rotten center is totally unwieldy. In any case, those offering day care know that they are in a seller's market. They don't need to pay much attention to parents' complaints, they can exclude unruly children, and, increasingly in the District, they feel free to reject welfare parents in favor of better-heeled customers. Closing down a few centers would make little difference to the others, so, according to Virginia Williams, an inspector's time is better spent trying to upgrade what exists. She is impressive, she has a lot of experience with children, and she is improving things some.

People operating licensed for-profit centers are in the day care business to make a living, not because they are interested in children. (To judge by results, it looks to me as though they are less able to work with children than many of the parents they are serving.) They readily admit they know nothing about materials or activities, and they seem grateful for Virginia Williams' help. She says some will spend money on stuff – what exists now in these largely bare places was purchased at her urging. Many, she thinks, would take advantage of some sort of flexible early childhood training program, if it were practical and, especially, if it could in some way be made part of licensing requirements. An

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inspectorate, several more Virginia Williamses, would be a great help, in part to maintain all the standards now so obviously honored in the breach – particularly on staff-children ratios – but more to assist some of the more promising places to train people and develop halfway decent programs for their children. Like many with experience in early childhood teaching, Virginia Williams does not believe that these for-profit centers can ever offer good programs, because good programs cost too much.

In Washington, fees to the for-profit centers run around $15 to $20 a week. They charge less for an extra brother or sister from the same family. This is, of course, a fortune to poor families; and a steep price for the middle class, too.

The places I visited varied enormously in their budgets, and so, with the help of some figures compiled by the nonprofit National Capital Day Care Association, I'm going to suggest a composite budget for a DC center with 40 children and a total income of $35,000 a year.

DC regulations say there has to be an adult for every 10 children. (Remember, these are *little* children, 2½ and up.) Leaving the director aside, then, you need a staff of 3 people. Let's pay them very low salaries, $3000 a year, which makes $9000.

Space might be free, but Headstart and other programs have used up most of the suitable church basements and sites, so rent will cost around $250 a month or a total of $3000.

Buying very, very cheap food for 40 children may cost as low as $2800.

These centers don't spend much on equipment: a generous estimate would be $200.

Transportation is expensive: $6000.

Thus total expenses in this first budget come to about $21,000, not counting a director's salary. If you are the owner of the center and act as your own director, that leaves a possible salary/profit for you of $14,000. If on the other hand, the director is an employee, he probably has to be paid more than the aides (for one thing, he has the difficult job of meeting parents), so figure on giving him $6000. This leaves a possible profit for someone of $8000.

This is already a barebones budget for an operation that might run an 11-hour day. It can, however, be trimmed further in the interests of profit. As parents get more and more desperate for some kind of day care, it is possible to make them pay extra for transportation, often through the nose. So let's leave out transportation from our budget. Also let's not have a director to supervise things; let's just hire another underpaid aide for $3000. Now we have a profit of $17,000 or $20,000 from an income of $35,000. To make such a profit you have to have inexperienced aides without anybody to work with them, little equipment, and meals of beans and bread.

Suppose, however, like some of the people Virginia Williams and I visited, you wanted to run a decent show. You don't want to gouge parents by charging extra for transportation, so you take care of that. And suppose you are lucky enough to find a reasonable director willing to work hard for $6000. You add 2 more (underpaid) aides to the staff, because you understand that 3 or 4 adults can't possibly do a good job of working with 40 small children all day. Also, you try to serve adequate food: a nonprofit day care center in Washington spends $7000 a year to feed 45 children breakfast, lunch, and 2 snacks; this sounds like a lot of money, but it averages a thrifty 60 cents a day per child. You can't go quite that far, but you are willing to add $2000 more to our original, miserable $2800 food budget. By now, when you add all this up, you find that your profits are approaching zero. The squeeze is very tight.

Speculation about budgets is, of course, only speculation. A budget is only a framework in which good or bad things can take place. Such exercises as I've been going through don't take into account regional variations in labor costs, and they certainly don't allow for special circumstances or particularly dedicated or energetic people. Day nurseries with a middle-class clientele and a lot of volunteer labor manage good, cheap programs. So do parent cooperatives. In many places there are small numbers of good centers run by director/owners whose only financial goal is a fairly modest salary. All I have tried to show is the plausibility of a certain rule of thumb about the finances of day care operations: a great deal of profit can be made from a rotten program, whereas the bare essentials of a decent program soon run you into or very close to the red. This is no iron law, but it tends to hold for all sorts of people in the business, including those who might be assumed to have good, or at least respectable, intentions. Many church groups in the District run appalling day care operations in the basements of their newly-acquired church buildings; they started them in order to pay off the mortgage, and now they find that finan-

**COMING:** The quest of Hubert H. Humphrey for a Senate seat and for a "significant role" in 1972

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cial pressure and an adequate program are incompatible. Their response to this discovery depends on their degree of Christian concern for the children; a few have made efforts to improve.

The great, immovable expense in day care for young children is a high ratio of adults to kids. Small children can be made to sit all day, like elementary school children, but it is a difficult art, requiring constant adult monitoring. Thus even when day care centers try to adopt the group teaching, labor-saving methods of the schools, they find they need more hands. More are needed whether they are good or bad with children. To be good, it is increasingly evident, people don't need a lot of elaborate degrees; but they need experience with young children, and preferably work experience in good preschool settings, so they have some idea of what sort of atmosphere and activities are appropriate for children. These days, with the expansion of preschooling, it is extremely unlikely that you would get such experienced people to stay if you paid them $3,000 and asked them to work 8 to 11 hours a day. These long hours pose particular problems. Even the best nonprofit centers have to fight to keep the staff fresh and the responses to the children unstereotyped; in most elementary schools, after all, teachers' tongues are hanging on the floor by 3 in the afternoon. To solve this problem day cafe centers must pay so that no teacher works more than 8 hours a day; sometimes the extra staffing can cost half again as much in basic salaries.

There is always astonishment when day care people insist that good care costs around $2000 to $3000 a year, more than twice what the going rate is in the for-profit DC centers. (Headstart, which often runs much shorter hours than ordinary day care programs, now costs about $2000 a year.)

It seems to me wildly implausible that we will get this kind of money for day care on any big scale for a long time, if ever, but it is really not an inflated figure. Part of the cost is paying professionals to work with uncredentialled, if often experienced, people. But the professionals in day care get fairly modest salaries, and everyone is at the point of agreeing that day care teachers don't need early childhood degrees. (However, the career ladders by which paraprofessionals can become teachers still seem to be missing a good many rungs.) Good nonprofit programs also include medical and dental care for the children, which costs a good deal, but which is also terribly important.

The question of what constitutes good standards of day care, and how we get more of it is going to become more and more pressing. The Congress is awash with day care proposals. Senator Mondale has proposed a bill (S.2060) that would expand many varieties of early childhood education, including day care; so would another thorough and well-conceived bill offered by Rep. Brademas (HR 13520). Representatives Dellenback and Reid have a bill (HR 15776), as does Senator Prouty (S. 3480). Senator Long has proposed a federal "Child Care Corporation" (S. 4101), whose exact workings nobody understands; but its purpose would be to expand day care for children of working parents.

There are substantial day care provisions in the Nixon Administration's welfare reform package, which has now been shelved for a year. Its proposals on day care are not primarily aimed at benefitting children; they are an attempt to get mothers off the welfare rolls. Under the bill, mothers with children over 6 will be forced to accept day care for them and enroll in job or training programs. Nonetheless, the bill allocates $386 million to be spent on some (vaguely-defined) level of care for 150,000 preschool and 400,000 school-age children.

All these bills, but particularly the Nixon Administration's possible extension of day care, have attracted the attention of a number of new businesses that are springing up to cultivate what many believe to be a national market for various kinds of child services. A few are fired by the vision of federal largesse for services to welfare mothers. Some are more interested in the possibility of an expanding middle-class market. In fact, most actual, working centers cater to parents well above the poverty line. The level of investment in research and tentative promotion is much bigger than the level of actual operations: most of the businesses remain fairly small, local operations.

Some are marketing franchises for child care the way others have sold franchises for root beer and fried chicken. Franchisers like Kinder Care Nurseries and the American Child Care Centers Inc. are opening up centers, especially in the South, where the level of both preschool public services and wages are scrawny. Customers who buy franchises pay from $18,000 (Mary Moppet in the Southwest) to $30,000 (American Centers), along with a continuing fee of about 6 per cent of gross sales. Construction and other initial costs may require as much as $200,000 in capital to start one of these outfits. The promised return on the investment is said, variously, to be between 12 and 20 percent, and purchasers of franchises hope to earn from $25,000 to $50,000. Fees to parents are $20 to $30 a week.

Since most nonprofit day care costs around $40 a week, the nonprofit day care orthodoxy is deeply suspicious of Kentucky Fried Children. I share their suspicion. I don't think the franchisers will be able to make money running good programs. At best, they will provide pleasant, expensive baby-sitting services for children, not an educational program. Much of their present talk is what a social scientist might call "fund-oriented," reminiscent of all the hoopla in the middle '60s about the fortunes to be made in the edbiz. The most careful market survey I've seen suggests that, barring

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federal windfalls, there is no safe market for selling day care in the inner cities or in the affluent suburbs. More likely prospects are lower middle class communities like Medford, Mass., where more wives are working and community services remain very poor.

The entrance of the franchisers onstage is a reminder that there are scarcely any effective standards for the services dealing with young children. It seems plausible that if companies cannot make money on good programs, they will have plenty of incentives to operate bad ones, as so many solitary entrepreneurs now do. How can the children be protected?

At the state and local levels, various committees and councils are at work trying to develop reasonable standards for day care. They are discovering that existing regulations are unenforceable – and that without benefit of national franchises, local operators long ago discovered how to run overcrowded, lucrative programs. The situation on the local level reminds many people of battles some time ago in state legislatures to establish some sort of standards for nursing homes. These battles in most places were lost to nursing home interests, which then went on to make fortunes out of federal Medicare and Medicaid windfalls, without any improvement in their abysmal services. In many respects the analogy is intriguing: young children and old people suffer worst of any groups from the existence of age-ghettos in our society. Relatives of old people, like parents of young children, do not always know what a good program is, and in some cases don't want to know. The complaints of the young and the old do not always get heard. The nursing home analogy is weak in one respect, however: there may never be as much money in child care as in supplying medical services, nursing care, and drugs to captive old people.

Both locally and nationally there is a need for inspectorates, experienced early childhood people whose business it is to set practical standards and help people meet them. They ought to have authority to revoke licenses and close places down, but in the present condition of scarcity, they should shut them only for gross violations. In many places the physical requirements for facilities are inflexible and mainly benefit large institutions like the public schools: except for real dangers to health and physical safety, they should be enforced lightly. Ultimately there should be subsidies to good private programs, such as the KLH day care center in Cambridge, Mass.; it is particularly likely that labor unions and big institutions like hospitals will expand day care for their employees if some sort of subsidies are available.

The place where standards really need enforcing is on adult-child ratios. In order to get some national standards on staffing, the ratios set forth in the federal "Inter-Agency Day Care Requirements" should apply to all programs getting federal funds. These requirements state that for children from 3 to 4, there should be a ratio of 5 children to 1 adult; from 4 to 6, a ratio of 7 children to one adult. In the light of the very long revolution now beginning in credentialling, it would be a poor idea to set rigid standards, such as academic degrees.

The main function of the inspectorates would be staff development, setting up programs by which experienced people could qualify themselves in the field for higher positions. These inspectorates should establish day care centers in high schools where students can train for diplomas in infant and child care. Their purview should include training and standards for people engaged in home care, as well. The inspectors might well want to tie such training to existing good group day care facilities, operating in the manner of some of the excellent Headstart parent and child centers dealing with mothers, fathers, and infants.

The nonprofit day care orthodoxy, like other small, protected realms of our preschool tradition, is getting badly shaken up. Group care was at one time a purely custodial, not an educational matter. It was a welfare measure, for the benefit of the mother. Often, too, people offering nonprofit group day care have been put in the position of having to administer our society's Poor Laws. They have also been too steeped in middle class nursery school traditions: children were to bloom like flowers, without much intellectual stimulation.

Many of these traditions are starting to change. The involvement of day care people in parent-controlled centers in Headstart programs and in places like New York has helped some of them shed their welfare mentality, the assumption, for instance, that mothers in need of day care are somehow social misfits. Some are breaking out of the stereotypes of the nursery schools, and are discovering that good teachers steal ideas from everywhere to make schools interesting environments.

The result is a number of good places, scattered over the map: storefronts, nurseries, day care centers, and Headstart operations that are excellent places for children to be, unlike most other facilities for children in this society, and *most* unlike the public schools. For all its weaknesses, then, and its tiny numbers in the face of vast needs, the early childhood orthodoxy has access to something that until recently was lacking to reformers in the schools: working models of what a good job looks like. In whatever way our early childhood programs expand, there should be an emphasis on training in such sites.

Day care, like all areas of early childhood education, is a vacuum. Whereas with the schools, the reformers' problem is to fight sick bureaucracies, pathological professionalism, and many other entrenched interests, the problem in early childhood education is simpler and bigger: how to develop from a few shoots, an entire new humane profession, responsible to its clients. And, of course, how to get hold of some money.

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A Hard Look at Campus Dissent

# Students Aren't Crazies

## by Mark A Tessler and Ronald D. Hedlund

A conservative educator said recently that the universities harbor "a loose alliance of Maoists, Trotskyites, Stalinists, Cheists, anarchists, utopians, and nihilists." All over the nation, candidates for political office are telling American citizens that they must stand up to the university, that they must stop financing "strike funds and narcotics and reeking apartments." Dissenters are portrayed as repulsive and disgusting "crazies," the very antithesis of America's shining youth. In February, Vice President Agnew called them "malcontents, radicals, incendiaries, and civil and uncivil disobedients among our young." He went on to tell his St. Louis audience, "I would swap the whole damn zoo for a single platoon of the kind of Americans I saw in Vietnam."

A careful reading of Agnew's speeches will often make clear that he is talking only about a small core of dedicated revolutionaries who certainly may be found on many campuses. But such reservations become irrelevant when the public begins to use his words as a way to legitimize their discontent with higher education and as a source of images and concepts to help them understand campus unrest. Agnew and others are perpetuating and popularizing a view of the American campus which is at worst wholly false and at best significantly distorted.

Scientific and empirical investigation of student dissent is needed. The authors conducted a survey of students immediately following the November 1969 Vietnam War Moratorium. A total of 1646 students at two major midwestern universities were asked about their feelings toward the war and the Moratorium and, although neither school has a reputation for radicalism and both have been relatively placid, the study clearly demonstrated the existence of widespread opposition to the war and a broad base of support for the Moratorium. One of the schools studied was a public institution; the other was private. [Similar findings were made by Dr. Alexander Heard, Chancellor of Vanderbilt University, in his report to President Nixon.]

Four percent of the students polled expressed total satisfaction with the President's war policy. By contrast, a Gallup Poll taken at the same time revealed that 52 percent of the general public approved of President Nixon's handling of the Vietnam war.

The weight of student opinion in favor of the Moratorium was equally clear and dramatic. Again, less than five percent *strongly* opposed the movement and, in all, less than 15 percent of the students polled expressed views which can be reasonably labelled "pro-war" or "anti-Moratorium."

In brief, American students are relatively united in their opposition to the war and in their support for responsible movements of dissent. Suggestions to the contrary simply mislead the public. Recent statements to the effect that less than one percent of all students are radicals, while comforting to the community and possibly even technically accurate if a sufficiently narrow definition of radicalism is employed, are, in the final analysis, ludicrous and damaging. They are ludicrous because they imply that most students are comparatively content while in fact more than 50 percent of the students at the two schools sampled have major reservations about American foreign and domestic policy. They are dangerous because they enable decision-makers to do as they please while pretending to speak in the name of a silent majority.

Dissenting students are frequently portrayed as affluent youth who have never had to work for anything and might not be so eager to tear down the system had some of their labor gone into its construction. By the same token, we are told that if students had to work their way through school, they would value an education too much to engage in wanton and reckless demonstrations. In other words, today's college students are spoiled. They support movements which promise instant change because they are too lazy or too pampered to seek their objectives through plain honest hard work.

Data collected in the present study clearly refute this contention. Many students at the schools studied are working their way through college, but there is no relationship between the proportion of expenses paid by a student and his attitudes toward the war and the Moratorium. Neither is there any relationship between the socio-economic status of a student's family and his political attitudes. The educational level of a student's parents and the student's own evaluation of his family's social position are both unrelated to attitudes

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toward the war and the Moratorium. Rather, students from all types of background oppose the war and support the Moratorium in approximately equal proportions. It is time for Agnew to stop telling the American people that college campuses are "circus tents or psychiatric centers for over-privileged, under-disciplined, irresponsible children of well-to-do blasé permissivists." It is not true.

The much-heralded generation gap also appears to have little to do with attitudes toward the war and the Moratorium. Students were asked to assess the views of their parents and, for over two-thirds of the sample, there was little or no difference between a student's own opinion and the views that he perceived his parents to hold. Therefore, the suggestion that protesting students are estranged from their parents on major political issues is essentially erroneous.

It is also frequently proclaimed that dissenting students are anti-social individuals, alienated from society as well as from their parents. The present study does not support this stereotype. Those who support the antiwar movements are no more likely than others to be alienated or maladjusted. A "zoo of freaks and crazies," a "coterie of inarticulate and mixed-up youth who cannot function adequately in contemporary society," is not the basis of student support for movements of radical protest.

Support for movements like the November Moratorium is frequently believed to indicate an unwillingness or an inability to work for change through accepted channels. From accounts of dissenters which emphasize frustration, withdrawal and, eventually, anti-social behavior, it is often deduced that protesting students reject the institutionalized political process and are unwilling to give "the system" a chance. Nothing could be more inaccurate. Students who oppose the war and support the Moratorium frequently report having been active in local political campaigns, seeking, in other words, to use the electoral process as a means to obtain their political objectives. In fact, these antiwar students are somewhat more likely than others to get involved in the traditional political process. In short, those most dissatisfied with the Vietnam war are those who are most likely to have worked within the system to obtain their political goals.

Furthermore, supporters of the Moratorium are quite willing and able to function adequately within the academic system. A comparison of political attitudes on the one hand and grade point averages and student activity levels on the other demonstrates that good students and campus leaders are just as likely as others to support the antiwar movement. Simply stated, dissent is not the special vocation of those who have failed at everything else. Indeed, detractors of student protest movements might do well to consider the possibility that some of the nation's most able and dedicated young people are desperately trying to tell them that there is a need for legitimate yet effective mechanisms for change.

We may safely conclude that those who insist upon pinning a label on student activists and their supporters and those who continue to mislead the public about the origin and meaning of current campus unrest are doing both the university and the nation a profound disservice. With the new academic year beginning in an atmosphere of tension, and with the strong smell of violence in the air both on and off the campus, there is a desperate need to replace easy words and rousing phrases with sober and reasoned study. The community must be forced to take a hard look at student dissent and to replace its stereotyped view of the university with an understanding that has some factual basis.

# Too Dangerous To Teach

*Eugene*

John Froines is one of the two acquitted members of the Chicago 8 Conspiracy and a University of Oregon chemistry professor (*NR*, July 25—"Not Guilty, But . . ."). After nearly three months of public outcry against Froines, University of Oregon President Robert Clark announced Aug. 6 that the radical chemist could return to his teaching duties.

The same day, Oregon Governor Tom McCall released a press statement explaining that Froines, who had made a number of speeches in Oregon advocating the closure of its universities, had broken no laws and was thus able to stay on. His personal opinion was that Froines "has engaged in conduct contrary to the best interests of the system of higher education and inconsistent with his continuation as an employe." He added, "As a public official, I feel a sense of frustration. I know what should be done, but there is no legal way this can be accomplished."

Clark, however, knew that the uptight state legislature had already threatened to cut off funds for two new buildings on his university's campus. One day before he announced Froines' return, Clark fired Irving Wainer, a colleague of Froines both in the chemistry department and in radical politics.

A federally funded research assistant in molecular biology, Wainer was discharged for "knowingly and willingly interfering with the legitimate functions of the University of Oregon." On five occasions enumerated by the University administration, he participated in guerrilla theatre skits said to be "disruptive."

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He is the first, and probably the last person to be fired under section 407 of Public Law 91-204, which prohibits payment of federal funds to persons who have engaged in conduct involving "the use of (or the assistance to others in the use of) force or the threat of force or the seizure of property under the control of an institution of higher education, to prevent . . . the faculty, administrative officials, or students in such institutions from engaging in their duties or pursuing their studies." The law expired June 30, but all of Wainer's misdeeds occurred prior to that date.

Wainer is a member of "People's ROTC," an unorganization he says is committed only to "having a lot of fun and jocularly ridiculing the ROTC program." The group staged a mock assault on the University of Oregon ROTC building. Other radical organizations on campus had led more serious attacks on the same building, but Wainer had not participated in those, though other members of People's ROTC had.

Wainer's dismissal followed investigation by a three-member faculty committee. Wainer's attorney, former Congressman Charles Porter, intends appealing to President Clark, then to the state board of higher education, finally to the federal courts. Porter wrote Clark that the committee failed, despite the repeated requests of Dr. Wainer, to hear Dr. Wainer's witnesses. The investigating committee did not dispute Wainer's argument that the People's ROTC had no intention to commit violence.

The University of Oregon administration seems to have pulled section 407 out of the bag in desperation. No mention of the law was made during the investigation, nor did either Wainer or Porter know the University of Oregon was applying the law until Wainer received notice of the termination of his federal funds. Froines believes that the state authorities and University of Oregon officials traded Wainer for himself. Froines says, "Repression against me is more likely to create an explosive effect on campus."

Yet Froines' own problems are by no means over. Froines, who has been working all summer on the Black Panther defense committee to free Bobby Seale in New Haven, arrived in Eugene in time to hear he had been allowed to return to the University of Oregon. He called a press conference, where he reiterated the words that last spring generated public outrage across Oregon: "Come September, if the war is not over, if the Panthers currently on trial are not freed, no school in this country should be opened." He said that one part of a fall mobilization against the war will be a call for a nationwide student and faculty strike from the first day of fall term. "I will support such a strike if it is called on this campus," he said, "and if it takes disruption to end the war, so be it." He was thumbing his nose at Gov. McCall, who emphasized, "If Dr. Froines should return to his teaching post this fall, he is on notice that new rules of conduct will be in effect and that he must conduct himself as a responsible member of the faculty. Failing to do so, he will be subjected to immediate disciplinary action under these new rules."

In response, Froines said, "McCall is running for reelection this year. He obviously has made the decision that I'm a profitable campaign issue, and that political repression against me will result in his election."

Although Clark has stated that Froines may return, the state board of higher education possesses the final authority to dismiss Froines. It asserted this jurisdiction in its June meeting. Loran Stewart, 59-year-old president of the Bohemia Lumber Co. in Eugene and the self-acclaimed "silent majority's" man on the board, says, "We cannot have him teach a class at the University. We may have to pay him off or send him to some other duty. The taxpayers won't tolerate his teaching. He doesn't fit in with the people of the state with what he has said." The state legislature has yet to approve bonds for $7 million worth of construction on the University of Oregon campus and a number of legislators want Froines to be given a terminal contract expiring at the end of the academic year. "It appears they are going to use my case as an excuse to penalize the University," Froines claims. "I would rather have the University fire me than that." The University will likely find an excuse to discharge him. He has been warned by Clark that if he "devotes his activities to political activism to the neglect of his responsibilities as a professor of chemistry," the axe will soon fall. Froines answers, "I cannot see my profession in isolation from my life. What happens to me politically may very markedly affect whether I teach or not." He further submits that the question has little to do with academic freedom or civil liberties. "What is important is that the University must serve the needs of the people," he maintains, "and if a university is promulgating war, then the people in that university have a right to disrupt it." Froines wants to shut down all the University's business-as-usual, to open it up to discussions and politicking on the war.

He does not seem worried about himself. He would just as soon go back to New Haven, he says, to write a book on the Panther trials. University of Oregon President Robert Clark may have misgivings, however. As past president of San Jose State College, he should know from experience with the California schools that when they start kicking out the rowdies, quite a few other professors begin to leave on their own accord, before the ship sinks.

**Gilbert Johnson**

MR. JOHNSON *is associate editor of the University of Oregon* Emerald.

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## Integration's Last Hurrah

# "Where Did Everyone Go To?"

*Detroit*

The stage here is set for what could become integration's last hurrah. Perhaps the final blow was struck in August when the liberal bloc that has controlled the city's board of education since 1964 was voted out of office in an unusual recall election.

The board had hired an egalitarian superintendent, aggressively recruited black teachers, promoted black administrators, and purged the schools of books that did not reflect a multi-racial society and did not adequately portray black contributions to history.

School boundaries were adjusted and student transfers were approved only if they improved integration. But the board was unable to integrate classrooms in a system that this year is 62 percent black. A few high schools in the corners of the city were white enclaves. Last April 7 the board moved against them. Its plan involved redrawing attendance boundaries for half of the city's high schools. Protests, student boycotts and hurriedly called neighborhood meetings followed. When the board met, angry white parents chanted "Hell no, we won't go." Speakers denounced the plan for five hours, before the board voted 4-2 to adopt it.

"All the trouble was because for the first time we devised a plan that not only moved black students into white schools, but also required white students to go to black schools," said the board president, A. L. Zwerdling, a labor lawyer and former administrative assistant to the late Walter Reuther. Zwerdling was elected to the board in 1964, with liberals Peter F. Grylls, a Michigan Bell Telephone executive, and the Rev. Darneau Stewart, a black minister. The three joined Dr. Remus Robinson, a physician, who in 1955 was the first black elected to the Detroit board and who for a decade fought almost alone for integration. Dr. Robinson was hospitalized when the April 7 meeting was held and died two months later; the critical fourth vote for integration came from Andrew Perdue, a black attorney elected to the board in 1968.

The plan involved boundary changes, not busing. But the board was accused of busing and of "forcing integration to drive the white people out of town." A Citizens Committee for Better Education was formed to organize a recall of Zwerdling, Grylls, Stewart and Perdue and to press the state legislature to overturn the integration plan. The committee produced 114,000 signatures on each of four separate petitions to get the issue on the ballot.

The recall survived three law suits in federal and state courts and was ordered on the ballot by the State Court of Appeals three days before the election. The legislature voted the citizens' group virtually everything it asked. The debate in the legislature was more emotional than in Detroit. The high school integration plan was a companion to board action dividing the school system into seven regions for decentralization. Conservatives in the legislature attacked both decentralization and integration. The legislature stopped the integration plan, and significantly changed the decentralization plans.

If the board was startled by the action in the legislature, it was dumbfounded by the response of its usual supporters. Republican Governor William Milliken had a few ambivalent comments about the integration plan, and said nothing at all about the recall. The mayor stayed on the fence. The United Auto Workers, long the cement in Michigan's liberal politics, managed to put up the money for the single newspaper ad opposing the recall when, as one union official put it, "we couldn't raise a dime anywhere else."

"Where is everybody?" Mr. Perdue agonized a few days before the election. "Where are the people who helped get us elected – the UAW, the NAACP and the others? Don't they care any more?"

The four did manage to attract support from black voters on election day, but the recall carried by 59 percent in a city where white voters still hold a 58-42 edge in voter registration. Only 180,000 voters managed to make their way to the end of a long primary election ballot and vote on the recall, and the percentage of whites voting on the issue was much higher than the black percentage.

The four will be replaced by interim board members appointed by the governor, and permanent replacements will be elected in November, as will the members of regional school boards who will take office when decentralization begins next January. The Citizens Committee for Better Education intends to stay around long enough to see that as many as possible of those new board members share its views. "We have a two-year battle ahead of us to take over this school system and turn it around," said Aubrey Short, a General Motors metallurgist who is the group's chairman.

"I had a right to fight," said a somewhat defensive Edward Zaleski, a policeman who was one of the early organizers of the recall drive. "My daughter was being sent to a black school. We knew we were going to win, because we were fighting for our children. They were only fighting for an idea."

**William Grant**

WILLIAM GRANT *writes on education for the Detroit* Free Press.

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"The ability of universities . . . to defend and utilize their freedom will have much to do with the ability of the young to keep their freedom."
—*Kingman Brewster, Jr.*

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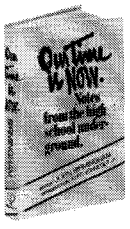

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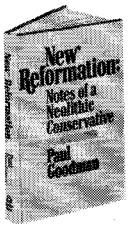

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# Stanley Kauffmann on films

## Diary of a Mad Housewife

(Universal)

This film is a prototypical contemporary American cultural artifact. It is well finished, well acted, brightly written, with all its assorted talent and technological smartness turned to the varnishing of mediocrity. And it is not about what it thinks it's about.

Eleanor Perry, whose last script was *Last Summer*, wrote the screenplay from a novel by Sue Kaufman. (Which I haven't read.) The story is of a young Manhattan woman, wife of a young successful lawyer, mother of two small girls, chatelaine of an expensive, very *consciously* furnished apartment: her tribulations, her humiliations, her fineness, her first extra-marital affair, her ultimate reliability. (The word "mad" may apply to the novel, not to the film – in either sense. She is rarely angry, and no one thinks she's insane. She goes to group therapy at the end, but, one may almost say, who doesn't?)

The ostensible theme is the New Materialism of Affluence. The husband is a connoisseur – of wine, of clothes, of social status, of business investment. His anxieties about all these things are intended as a picture of the sterilities and false values that lead him to underprize, for instance, his wife. At one point he remembers how different they used to be when they were "young" (he's now in his early thirties!), and he says that all the idealism went out of them when JFK was assassinated. If that passage were meant satirically, it would be the best moment in the film, a statement of the kind of bankruptcy that is relieved to have found an occasion to declare itself. But I think the lines are offered as a deep social perception. Anyway, the husband's present empty busyness has turned him into an urbane nag.

From the very first moment, he is nagging. He nags his wife awake, nags her while she dresses, nags at breakfast, and so on. His nagging is sometimes supposed to be witty, sometimes flattering, sometimes kittenish (when he wants a "roll in de hay"). But underneath his vaudeville, he is nothing but a conceited, nagging boor. And that's not all the wife has to endure. Her children are nasty smart-alecks. Her household work is endless (and unappreciated). Her party-going is dismal – until she virtually solicits attention from a prowling young novelist. She is driven to his bed by her husband's egotism. Subsequently she is literally thrown out by her lover because she wants humanity as well as sex. Then her husband, who has been cleaned out by a snobbish investment in a French vineyard and whose job in his law firm is now threatened, comes to her for comfort, which she gives, aware that new success will again make him what he was. At the last she goes to a therapy group and tells her problem, whereupon she is promptly attacked, by men and women, as spoiled and self-pitying. *Nobody* understands her.

In short, what is presented to us as a devastating picture of modern urban *mores* is in fact a modernized version of a dozen Joan Crawford-Ruth Chatterton films, yet another spayed version of *A Doll's House*. Ibsen gave us the awakening of a woman who has been spiritually brutalized by her marriage and who resolves to break out of it. *Housewife* gives us a woman who is essentially unchanged from beginning to end: she is noble all the way; and she stays with her husband at the end in order to go on being unappreciatedly noble. No other person in the film has anything like her vision or decency – not a shred of it. She is solitary in nobility. And so the film's depiction of male conceit shrinks beside its profounder, unintended depiction of female vanity. I hazard, further, that the Lib ladies will dislike the film because it shows this oppressed woman resolving to persist in her proper place as egotist's helpmeet and brats' ma.

There is something else operating here, too, a larger cultural current of which this picture becomes a tiny part. Here we have an attractive intelligent young woman, a Phi Beta Kappa out of Smith, who allows herself to be treated like an amiable dimwit; whose husband is well-off but who, even with a part-time servant, lets herself be used like a drudge. True, love begets forbearance; true, too, some women like housework and even prospering husbands cannot afford, or get, the household staffs of yore. But from start to finish her husband is abusing or blatantly utilizing her, and she almost always accepts it meekly. She takes a great deal of bullying from her lover, as if it were part of her lot. Why does she accept all this? A sense of inferiority? Her family and intellectual backgrounds are at least the equal of her husband's. Masochism? Not proved. No, there is, finally, only one credible reason for her acceptance of continual abuse. *Because she knows the camera is there.* She has witnesses (us): who know what she is suffering and how fine she is, who are sitting in judgment on her harassers and will reward her – at least with our sympathy and high opinion – for the reticent courage with which she undergoes her trials.

Put literally, this means of course that the film-makers know the camera is there, but the film is told so intensely from the viewpoint of a heroine among besiegers, it is so inexplicable and unbalanced without the other half of the equation, that it has the effect of her conscious autobiography for those who are watching. This effect – a sense that the protagonist of a fiction knows that he (or she) is being watched or read or listened to – has been a familiar one now for two hundred years. With the decline of belief in God, the omnipresent witness, the secret sharer and rewarder, various art-forms have moved to fill the gap left by his departure. These art-forms, subjective and inevitably self-aggrandizing, finally substantiate Hulme's definition of romanticism as "spilt religion." Mountains of fiction and poetry attest to this phenomenon; now this film is carrying it on. Religion is not mentioned, yet what could be sustaining this woman except some kind of faith that her disregarded virtues are not lost? (The kind of job God used to do.) Imagine her as unwitnessed, and the only thing that would then be credible is her quick flight or quick breakdown.

Much of this confidence in our presence comes from the performance of the role by a newcomer named Carrie Snodgress. She has attractive taciturnity and an unusual voice, reminiscent of Jean Arthur, and, like Miss Arthur, Miss Snodgress is always saying to us privately and winningly, "See?" Even in her bed scenes. Another film newcomer, Frank Langella, known in the

*(Continued on page 32)*

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# Peter Caws: Clearing out the Rubbish

## What We Owe Children by Caleb Gattegno

(Outerbridge and Dienstfrey; $4.95)

A great deal of lamentation goes on these days about the state of education, and on the whole this is probably a good thing. The reason for this lamentation is that, in spite of a long and noble tradition of public education, most Americans are still not really educated at all, in the sense of knowing what they might know of themselves, other people, and the world (including the achievements of the other people), knowing the grounds of this knowledge, and being able to make intelligent use of it. This condition of miseducation stretches from the highest reaches of the federal government to the lowest corners of the ghetto; its consequences are more serious in the former.

Recently a National Assessment has been put into action to find out how uneducated we all are, and its first results are not encouraging; they echo what other studies have already found (I remember, for example, some hair-raising figures published a few years ago about the knowledge of history among high-school student and teachers in Illinois, or maybe it was Indiana). The people who devised the Assessment must be regarded as lamentably uneducated themselves if they think that the ability, not to assert, but merely to *recognize* as true one sentence out of four – no question as to *how* it is known, little room for nuance or ambiguity, no possibility of clarification – is any index of educational achievement. The world does not habitually confront the moral agent with four clearly-formulated choices, among which the right one is surely to be found; nor by rejecting all of them can the issue always be avoided.

Education is put to the test when the question is unprecedented and the answer unformulated, when traditional solutions don't work and yet something must be done; as for example when a powerful nation is challenged to put humanity and reason above ideological prejudice and geopolitical advantage in the conduct of its foreign affairs, or to devise means of eliminating poverty and discrimination among its people. If, faced with such challenges, the national debate reduces to passion and violence on both sides, the educational system has clearly failed. Perhaps it had an impossible task to begin with; perhaps democracy – which stands or falls with *total* public education, which moreover must be essentially completed before the citizen reaches voting age – really won't work. But since democracy is our only hope, lamentation should be warded off as long as possible.

The trouble with lamentation, in any case, is that (in the absence of benevolent deities who might take pity on our condition) it is remarkably ineffective. It helps to get wrongs recognized, but it does not help to right them. What, concretely, can we do? The usual answer nowadays is to decentralize, to humanize, to put love into the curriculum, and this would be fine. But the educational system is very large and its worst difficulties are not likely to be solved by romantics. (One of the difficulties is the tendency of the system to eject the romantics.) Also, as a popular song puts it, "there's not enough love to go round," and even if there were it is not clear that schools are really the place for it or that teachers should be expected to spend theirs on their pupils.

Dean Inge of Westminster once put succinctly what many people who have frequent contact with other people secretly feel. "I do not love the human race," he said; "I have loved just a few of them – the rest are a pretty mixed lot." What we need is a strategy that makes no appeal to sentiment but takes account of the condition of teachers and taught – their inertia, their vested interest, their ignorance, but also their native gifts, their humanity, their reason – and makes workable recommendations that have, over the long run, some chance of being adopted by those who least lament the present condition of things and indeed are the most offended by others' laments.

The outlines of such a strategy are offered by Caleb Gattegno in this remarkable little book. I say "remarkable" on several counts. The book is not particularly well written or well put together; its title does not indicate at all clearly what it is about, and appeals to an unnecessary assumption; it wanders off towards the end into a series of questions, individually stimulating but collectively indigestible; it constantly makes claims that the psychologist or the social scientist or even the physicist might want to challenge. And yet at the same time it conveys an authoritative and convincing message, and the reader is persuaded that Gattegno has seen clearly to the bottom of the problem and knows what is involved in its solution. There are, as he says, no gimmicks in his approach: "Only the intelligent use of the powers of the mind in all the individuals involved, both teachers and students." These, however, in the context of most recent writing about education, are already revolutionary words.

Of the powers of the mind available for intelligent use the weakest, according to Gattegno, is memory. Yet it is almost the only power to be exploited at all in the educational system. Children are told things and expected to remember them. But this does them little good. What, after all, is their education for? "Is it not," as Gattegno asks with disarming simplicity, "to provide students with the means to meet the future?" And what do we really know of the future? – only that it is unknown. So remembering things is not likely to prepare us for it. We have had from other sources – Margaret Mead and Alvin Toffler come to mind – plenty of warnings that the *rate* at which the future is now approaching is such that pretty nearly anything the *teachers* remember – and this is usually what they want their pupils to remember – is likely to be largely irrelevant to the future experience of the pupils. Teaching a body of knowledge, which is what the educational system is cumbersomely geared to do, turns out to be the least useful of all educational activities.

This is not to reject knowledge, only to deny that it is something that exists prior to learning, to make it rather a *consequence* of learning. Learning, not

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teaching, ought to be the focus of the system. And learning, which means adapting to the environment (and hence adapting to the future) is already a power of the mind, one of the "functionings of children," as Gattegno puts it. We know this because every child has learned to sit, walk, and talk without being taught to do these things, and has learned so well that it does not have to *remember* how to do them or ever in the normal course of events have to relearn them. When the child can understand what is said to him we may be able to help him exploit his native powers by suitable hints, and as behavior becomes more complex this can save a lot of time and effort. Put an infant in a crib with bars and it will learn to sit in a few months ("if a child's accomplishments in his crib are not impressive," says Gattegno, "then nothing is impressive"). Put a child in a yard with a bicycle and he may well learn to ride it in a few weeks – but explain how the bicycle works and offer to catch him if he falls off, and the process need take only hours.

So with reading. It has been suggested that a child growing up in a literate environment will learn to read by the age of eight or nine as he learned to speak by the age of two or three. But explain to him how reading works and the skill comes quite naturally at a much earlier age. How *does* it work? According to Gattegno there is only one necessary principle to get into the child's head, namely that "writing is the codification of spoken speech, and reading its reverse process," the difference between speaking and writing being that speaking is linear in time while writing is linear in space. (This is not the language in which the point would be explained to the child, but the principle is well within his grasp.) Is this commonly explained to children? Do most adults understand it? The arguments about phonics, "look and say," reading readiness, word lists and the like all begin to seem beside the point when compared with Gattegno's approach, which he spells out in enough detail to convince the reader of its plausibility.

So again with mathematics and the social sciences; the powers of algebraic transformation, of imagery, of will, of the sense of truth, are there to be made use of, and the policy of "the subordination of teaching to learning" invokes them at appropriate points, taking account of the natural stages of the child's interest, and preparing a suitable environment for engaging his interest and educing his powers. (At the moment the pattern of education follows for the most part the adult's interest.) In this book, it is true, Gat-


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tegno gives only the briefest sketch of his techniques, but if anyone should suppose that they are only programmatic it must be said that he has a formidable record of research and publication, especially in the teaching of reading and mathematics, and that teachers who have used his methods say they work. Also he has been giving seminars in schools of education for years, and his remarks on the role of the teacher, and the ways in which teachers might be encouraged to play it, are especially useful – and realistic.

The whole book, in fact, is in refreshing contrast to the commodity-oriented production model of the educational process which is so natural in an industrial society. There have been ominous rumblings of late to the effect that the public is dissatisfied with the educational system and that it ought to be able to demonstrate exactly what it has produced in the way of acquired and repeatable knowledge in its students; the National Assessment is just another symptom of this stress on performance. Dissatisfaction is fully justified, heaven knows, but to insist that the product be weighed and measured would destroy the educational character of the system and drive it further in a direction in which it has already gone too far, towards education as the acquisition of information, of pre-existent and remembered knowledge rather than knowledge as a dynamic equilibrium between mind and its environment.

Gattegno brings us back to education as the calling forth of the powers of the mind; these powers need to be supplemented by information – and it must be remembered after all that memory is one of them – but information is not sufficient. Even Jefferson, in spite of the general failure of the Founding Fathers to pay much attention to education, knew this distinction. "Educate and inform the whole mass of the people," he said. "Enable them to see that it is in their interest to preserve peace and order, and they will preserve it." (This may serve to remind us that law and order is a matter of education, not of enforcement; *there* is one of the failures of the educational system.) Gattegno's message is that, since children (like the rest of us) have eyes, it is better to enable them to see – by clearing the rubbish out of the way, pointing them in the right direction, etc. – than first to blindfold them and then make them memorize an outdated description of their world.

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# Martin Jezer: Don't Admire the Turnips

## Living the Good Life by Helen and Scott Nearing

(Schocken; $4.95)

In 1932 the Nearings moved out of New York City to a ramshackle 65-acre farm in the Pike Valley of Vermont. They were then both approaching 50 (hardly the time to be "dropping out") and, as outspoken radical pacifists, socialists and vegetarians, were finding it difficult to earn a livelihood in a socially useful manner. "Under these circumstances," they asked, "where could outcasts from a dying social order live frugally and decently, and at the same time have sufficient leisure and energy to assist in the speedy liquidation of the disintegrating society and to help replace it with a more workable social system?" Exile was ruled out; the Nearings meant to join in the struggle and personally help bring the new order about. They were attracted to the idea of intentional community, but there were none in existence at the time that shared their views. The alternative was to move to a stagnant, rural, backwoods town in an inaccessible New England valley and begin life anew; no small step for politically active city dwellers of intellectual bent and advancing age.

*Living the Good Life* was originally published privately in 1954. It describes the Nearings' "twenty year project in self-sufficient homesteading;" a project, that as an experiment in living, was successful in every aspect but one. The Nearings were unable to convince their Yankee neighbors that cooperation and collectivism was a better, more practical way to do things than their stubborn individualistic "every-man-his-own-farmer" way. The Nearings have since left Vermont – the ski boom having come to their neighborhood mountain – for a similar homesteading venture in Maine. Both of them are now approaching 90 and still going strong. Farming, writing (for publications as diverse as *Monthly Review* and *Organic Gardening*), working for radical change, and, as always, living the good life. Meanwhile their idea has taken hold. This Schocken reprint is acknowledgement that what was once a personal and eccentric solution to the ills of modern American society has become a movement, relevant and growing.

Vermont (like other parts of New England, the Southwest, Pacific Northwest and California) is rapidly becoming peopled with longhaired drop-outs (from society and the movement) determined to survive the impending holocaust (nuclear or ecological) and/or bring about an alternative society, "forming the new society within the shell of the old," as the Wobblies used to say, a New Age. Many live in sizable communes, and they are the most publicized; but most, like the Nearings, live alone or with small groups of friends on backwoods homesteads. Their numbers are growing. In Vermont, a new third party – Liberty Union – is based in part on their support, and at least one "communard," Fritz Hewitt of Guilford, is running for the legislature. Vermont politics are sufficiently unstructured and decentralized so that working within the system is not antithetical to dropping out.

Moreover, the decentralist spirit of many of the longhaired newcomers is in many ways akin to agrarian Jeffersonian democracy, remnants of which are still found in backcountry Vermont. Paul Goodman's term "neolithic conservative" can describe both the New Age radicals and the old-time Vermont farmers. The Nearings, having come to Vermont alone and with a deeply set political ideology, had little impact on the community. The freaks, coming in numbers and with a flexible and pragmatic, nonideological radicalism, may have greater impact. Their life-style is outrageous to most adult Vermonters, but attractive to their kids.

About practical matters, the Nearings have much to teach the newcomers, even those who live on the more spaced-out communes. The Nearings went about their experiment in homesteading with as much scientific precision as social science would allow, even to the point of drawing up a 12-point

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ten year plan which they followed closely. Point number two is especially impressive; it is what the New Age is all about. "We have no intention of making money, nor do we seek wages or profits. Rather we aim to earn a livelihood, as far as possible, on a use economy basis. When enough bread labor has been performed to secure the year's living, we will stop earning until the next crop season." The Nearings are famous as organic gardeners and the chapter on "The Good Earth" is about the most complete and concise explanation of the organic method as this neophyte farmer has ever encountered. The Nearings ate the year round almost entirely from their garden produce and from the natural foods that grew wild around the countryside. They also built their own stone houses, beautifully and cheaply, and earned what little cash they needed by maple sugaring. (Of course, they became expert at that. Their *Maple Sugar Book* is authoritative.) They succeeded in living off the land on a regimen leaving them four hours of leisure each working day, and they earned a year's livelihood in about six months. This gave them time to travel and write.

But, as Paul Goodman notes in his introduction, the Nearings' life-theory differs in one important way from that of the New Age farmers who have followed them. Coming out of an economy of scarcity, the Nearings were concerned foremost with livelihood. They were like old fashioned Yankees, concerned with honest and principled labor, thrift and similar virtues said to be traditional in America. Their politics were separate from their life-style; that is, their life-style was structured to give them time for politics. So they speak of obtaining a living and changing the world as if each were a separate endeavor. Moreover, they are rational, thoughtful, orderly and careful. They plan ahead. New Age farmers are, by choice, irrational and attuned only to the present. They are spaced-out and want only to be more so.

Those of us who have followed the Nearings to Vermont have reversed priorities. We are children of a post-scarcity economy and we take our livelihood for granted. Ten or more of us can live comfortably, on an income of less than $8,000, even with a huge mortgage debt. We don't much worry about how we get our money. Enough always comes in to pay our minimum expenses; we don't need more. We are better farmers than Goodman makes

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us out to be in his introduction, and we will improve with time. But we will never be admired for our turnips and sweet peas. We don't care to be.

What we are really into is living together, which must sound trite to Western ears. Living in community, learning to love one another, has always been assumed and ignored by Americans, for whom the important things are what one does, what one works at, what one discovers, invents, creates, succeeds at. Human values are always secondary. Learning to live together! This and not landing a space ship on the moon is the great adventure of our time. And it is a whole lot harder than space adventure, being, at its essence, a leap of faith – without radar – into a great unknown.

Much of our time is spent simply relating to one another. Acid has given us the insight to look inward and not to be afraid of what we find. As Gary Snyder points out in *Earth House Hold*, "this is subversive to civilization." For we are discovering that people are basically benevolent, decent, friendly and good and that, in Snyder's words, "we need not look to a model or rule imposed from outside in searching for the center." Yet success is not easy; communes are continually breaking up because of the terrifying stress of human relationships. Impressively, most people faced with one failure do not abandon the idea of communal living; new communes are continuously being formed by veterans of unsuccessful experiments.

I think we are learning some essential qualities in these experiments. Tolerance, for instance. Not a passive tolerance, but a loving tolerance; a tolerance that insists that we will love each other despite our worst faults and all the viciousness and competitiveness that we carry over from our previous "straight" lives. We are farming our collective psyches, ploughing and turning under the consciousness of the past and trying to achieve a new level of awareness. Already, a critique is evolving that deals not with economic and political equalities, but with the social sickness, reflected by American life, which pits people against people, defines individuals as competitors and rivals, and considers abnormal the cooperative and friendly spirit that one comes to expect from people who have waged war with their pasts and begun to purge themselves of the burden of Western materialism and civilization.

*Living the Good Life*, along with *The Whole Earth Catalog* and Rodale's *How to Grow Fruits and Vegetables, the Organic Method*, belongs on any New Age bookshelf. But so do *Earth House Hold*, the *I Ching*, and the collected Beatles.

# Alex Campbell: Spyblown

## The Springing of George Blake by Sean Bourke

(Viking; $6.95)

Sean Bourke and George Blake met in Wormwood Scrubbs, the London prison, where Bourke was serving seven years for sending a home-made bomb to a policeman he disliked, and Blake was doing 42 years, for spying for the Russians at the time he was supposed to be Britain's top spy. Blake suggested that when Bourke got out he help Blake escape. Bourke for reasons that are never made clear, for he was not a Communist, eagerly consented. What followed was pure comedy.

Bourke on his release got a job and lodgings near the prison. He bought a track suit and stop watch and raced around outside the prison walls, explaining to amused – or bemused – warders that he was doing it to keep fit. Having plotted Blake's escape route over the wall, he managed to smuggle in to Blake a walkie-talkie, bar-break-

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ing implements, and other useful tools.

For months, Bourke outside and Blake inside held frequent conversations by walkie-talkie radio – "Baker Charlie to Fox Michael. Over." Blake solemnly impressed his rescuer with the need to "maintain the highest standards of security-mindedness throughout." Finally, the big night came. Several things went wrong. Bourke was badly delayed by a traffic jam, heavy rain, a guard with a watch-dog, a courting couple. When at last he got his rope ladder over the wall, Blake climbed it from the other side only to fall, hit his head and break his wrist, and be hauled into the getaway car by Bourke.

The escape succeeded nonetheless. Scotland Yard vainly scoured England, Ireland and the Continent for Blake. All the time, he was living with Bourke in an apartment only a few minutes' walk from Wormwood Scrubbs. Then the pair quietly left for East Berlin and so to Moscow.

Most of this sounds absolutely incredible. But it actually happened. And only last month, the London *Times* reported that an inmate of Broadmoor, the British criminal lunatic asylum, was found to have constructed in his cell a laser beam that bored holes in half-inch thick steel.

Once in Moscow, Bourke discovered that he had unloosed a monster. Frankenstein wasn't in it. Blake not only lorded it over Bourke "the Irish peasant," he got so bored with his company he suggested to the Russian Secret Service that they liquidate the inconvenience. Happily for Bourke, they refused and in fact let him go to Eire from where, he says, the British are still trying to extradite him, no doubt wishing to return him to Wormwood Scrubbs. On past performance, that shouldn't detain him long.

Bourke immodestly quotes a lot of people calling him brave, and depicts Blake as a cowardly, double-dyed villain. A double agent Blake undeniably was and maybe still is, but Bourke's amazement that Blake quickly found his rescuer obnoxious will not be shared by the reader. Bourke emerges from his own pages as a cunning clod or perhaps, as Blake said, an Irish peasant. He endangered his own enterprise before the "springing" through heavy drinking, and once in Russia he drank, gluttonized and fornicated his way around the Soviet Union. Perhaps the KGB were glad to be rid of him.

The comedy continued to the very end. Bourke's presence in Moscow was supposed to be top secret. On a drunken impulse he placed a phone call to his brother in Ayr, Scotland; the call went through with no hindrance from the Russians. His brother Kevin rushed to Moscow to see him – his fare was paid by a British newspaper. The highest


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pitch of comedy is attained when the rescuer of George Blake and avowed hater of everything English gravely describes the British Embassy in Moscow as "that small patch of British soil [that] stood for decency." It's a zany world.

And that's also the chief impression to be gained from the U-2 pilot's now-at-last-it-can-be-told tale, *Operation Overflight*, by Francis Gary Powers (Holt, Rinehart & Winston; $6.95). When the Russians shot down Powers' spy plane, he had on him his DoD and NASA cards, Social Security and Selective Service cards, and driving licenses. "Be careful of that pin!" he yelled in warning, to the Russians who went through his pockets – the pin was smeared with curare. Pure comedy, and there was more to come. "I'm going to appeal to Mr. Khrushchev personally to be fair to my boy, as one old coalminer to another!" exclaimed Powers' dad. When Khrushchev failed to respond suitably, Dad jawed someone in Washington into offering to exchange the Soviet spy, Colonel Abel, for his boy, and the Russians agreed. Their parting word to Powers – "The next time you come to see us, come as a friend." Powers' own side was less kind.

He depicts his ex-wife as a frail reed, and the American public as complaining about his not jabbing himself with the pin; people asked indignantly what Powers thought he was being paid $30,000 a year for, if not for that.

The commander of the captured spy ship Pueblo was also accused of humiliating surrender (*Bucher: My Story*, by Commander Lloyd M. Bucher; Doubleday; $7.95) but in Bucher's case the American public were on the whole sympathetic; his accusers were top brass and windbag politicians. Bucher after being tortured by the North Koreans came close to being court-martialed back home. Yet a thoroughly botched operation was not his fault. What chance had a mission that called itself Operation Clickbeetle, and used a spy ship with a SOD-Hut (Special Operations Department) whose top-secret gear was installed upside down? So this is what the billions of dollars spent by the CIA and the Pentagon buy! Powers' farce at the end of the fifties and Bucher's complaint at the end of sixties show that the constant factor is clownish incompetence in high places.


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# Correspondence

## Lively Ivy

*Sirs:*

The spirited controversies which rage weekly in the "Letters" column of your journal reveal a good deal of unrest among your readers about the material selected for publication. As I read your editorial, "The Lively Ivy," in the August 15 issue I was struck by the relevance of that editorial, particularly its last paragraph, to this problem of reader dissatisfaction. Perhaps you might consider extending the message of that editorial to your own problem somewhat as follows:

The way to solve the problems causing reader unrest is to confront the problems on the journals. We should press or a change at the *editorial* level, and work to give readers the power to construct a journal as a start for rebuilding society. That means putting readers elected by readers on the ediorial boards, in circulation departments and in advertising departments – opening the decision-making processes to the readers whom, after all, the decisions will affect the most. Congress took a step toward giving readers their share of the nation's political power when it passed the postal subsidy; why should readers be given less reponsibility with their own journals? Congress should require, as a prerequisite for the postal subsidy, that journals demonstrate they have given readers a fair share of voting power on their editorial boards the way it not long ago passed a law denying federal aid to political districts which have discriminatory voting laws.

*Richard F. Schier*
*Chairman, Dept. of Govt.,*
*Franklin & Marshall College,*
*Lancaster, Pa.*

*Sirs:*

. . . the content of the courses that I teach is determined in part by my colleagues, in part by the wishes of students, but largely by my own interests. Perhaps it is wrong for the faculty to have such power, but it is they and not the trustees who have it. . . . If those who object to the policies of *The New Republic* were to disrupt the operation of your magazine so that it could not be published, and if you were to throw these people out of your offices, few would condemn you for doing so. Why then should administrators be condemned for carrying out analogous action with students? . . . On the issue of student representation on policy boards . . . one should not equate a matter such as student representation, on which men of good will can reasonably differ, with a great social and ethical evil such as segregation . . .

*Herbert Heidelberger*
*Associate Professor of Philosophy*
*University of Massachusetts*

*Sirs:*

If Congress can give 18-year-olds the vote, *The New Republic* asks, "why should students be given less responsibility on their own campuses?" . . . because the United States is a democratic nation and Congress is supposed to represent the people, whereas universities are centers of teaching, learning, and inquiry the pursuit of which needs to be insulated, to the extent that is possible, from the political conflicts which legitimately rend the political community. . . . successful transformation of universities from centers of higher learning into democratic poltical communities will . . . *legitimize* political conflict there. And once that happens, the disinterested pursuit of truth is ended.

*Bennett M. Berger*
*Dept. of Sociology*
*University of California, Davis*

*Sirs:*

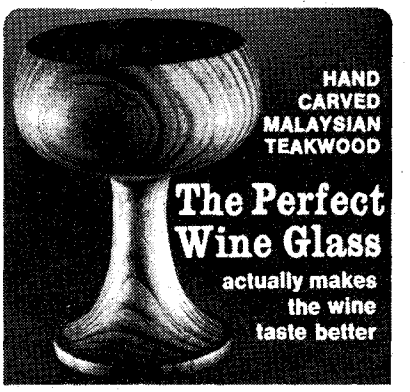
. . . politics have their part in campus life as in the community itself. But they should not usurp unlawful powers, crowding out other campus functions and activities. . . .

That is why I applaud your wish to see more student voice in campus policy-making – "opening all the decision-making processes to the students whom, after all, the decisions will affect the most." This is healthy and wise, a much more reasonable and responsible way of taking part and being heard on the nation's campuses.

*Lawrence Lipson*
*Department of Romance Languages*
*Brandeis University*

### Notes on Contributors

Peter Caws *is professor of philosophy at Hunter College of the City University of New York.* Martin Jezer *writes regularly for* WIN *Magazine. He lives on a commune in Vermont.*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*Sirs:*

Students, aside from their youth and the fact that they are in the university to receive an education, because of their status as transients cannot possibly be held accountable for decisions that they as a group make. This lack of accountability is, standing alone, fatal to the notion that students can "construct a society on their own campuses."

*Herbert L. Packer*
*Stanford Law School*

## Kauffmann, *(from page 23)*

New York theater, plays the lover with feline insolence. The husband is Richard Benjamin who again displays his limited, sure gifts of comic inflection and calmly arrogant italicization. The bright rich boy, grown partially up. Any differences between this performance and, say, Danby in *Catch-22* are simply differences in dialogue.

Frank Perry has done his best direction so far. As usual, he is good with his actors, and here he has "staged" things adroitly. For instance, the final quarrel between lover and wife: the man angrily shoves her flat on her back on the sofa and she has to argue upward at him. But Perry has often seemed strained in pure cinema technique, and now he is as smooth and creamy as the best TV commercials – which, technically speaking, is a compliment. The best thing that can be said about his direction is that it is free of those incessant zooms and intercuts which many younger directors think essential to hipness. On the other hand, like so many currently developing directors, Perry's work is devoid of personal style.

This lack of style matches the general chic anonymity of the whole film. Its infinite accurate details do not make for specific truth, only for general recognition. Like *Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice*, it is a product of the very culture it means to examine critically. Its interest is not in any way that it takes us but in the way it can be looked at objectively.

*Book Note.* For a few months earlier this year, I was the editor of a projected international encyclopedia of film. I knew there was one other such book in preparation when I accepted the job, but I soon found out there were at least four more comparable encyclopedias in various stages of preparation.

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So the publishers and I decided not to proceed.

I mention this apropos of the publication of the third edition, revised and expanded, of the best concise reference book, *The Filmgoer's Companion* by Leslie Halliwell (Hill and Wang; $15). There are several better books in French, and Peter Graham's paperbound *Dictionary of the Cinema* is more intelligent; but Graham has 620 entries and Halliwell has six thousand. Halliwell's is a British book, so the years of release and titles are sometimes off for the US. Most of his filmographies are incomplete because of space limits. (But why add William Bowers, the screenwriter, to this new edition and omit *The Gunfighter*, his best script?) Halliwell's one-line comments on his entries are sometimes inane. ("A nightmarish fantasy of schoolboy life, directed in surrealist vein by Jean Vigo" is his description of *Zéro de conduite*!) But if the book is, as Halliwell states, "basically cheerful rather than scholarly," it is still the most useful fact-book in English. Until some of those large-scale encyclopedias appear.

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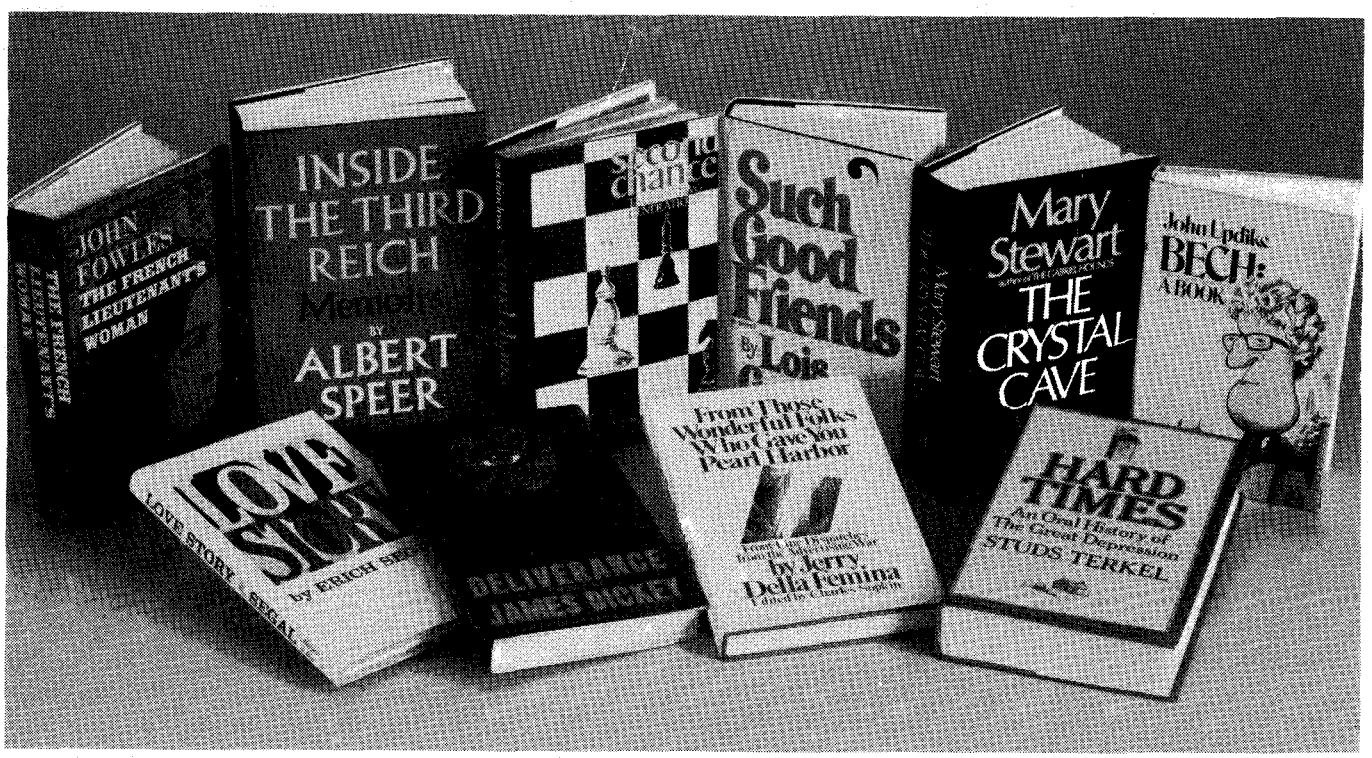


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